LM
JUNE 1975
Founded 1921 by R. Palme Dutt
LABOUR MONTHLY
A MAGAZINE OF LEFT UNITY · 30p

Andrew Rothstein
'No!' to the Market

Len Murray
Visit of Soviet Trade Unionists

Bob Wright
Unity for Labour's Programme

William Pomeroy
'American Dominoes'

Finlay Hart
Shipbuilding Nationalisation

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOUR MONTHLY

Acting Editor: Andrew Rothstein Associate Editor: R. Page Arnot
Managing Editor: Nicola Seyd

VOL 57 No 6 JUNE 1975

CONTENTS

		Page
'No!' to the Tory-Wilson Market	**Andrew Rothstein**	241
Visit of Soviet Trade Unionists	**Len Murray**	243
Using Someone Else's Yardstick	**Nikolai Yefimov**	245
Fifty Years Ago		246
Unity for Labour's 1973 Programme	**Bob Wright**	249
Thoughts on the 'Ulster' Convention	**C. Desmond Greaves**	252
Labour Party—The Future	**Dennis Somerville**	255
Abe Moffat	**Michael McGahey**	257
South-East Asia Ends American 'Dominoes'	**William Pomeroy**	259
Correspondence: 'Marxist History', *Jürgen Kuczynski* and *H. Kirtlan*		263
Cartoon *by Ron*		264
Chilean Trade Unions Fight Back	**Luis Figueroa**	266
Portugal is Advancing	**Carlos Placido**	269
British Investment in Portugal		270
Reminiscences of Comrade R. Palme Dutt	**Sanzo Nosaka**	273
Shipbuilding—Nationalisation	**Finlay Hart**	277
Book Reviews: 'Soviet Deputy', A. Bezuglov, and 'Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics': *Bill Steel*; 'Brecht As They Knew Him', edited by Hubert Witt: *Alan Clarke*; 'The Party', Trevor Griffiths: *Brian Filling*; 'The Guinea Pigs', John McGuffin: *Ben Ainley*; 'The Intelligent Radical's Guide to Economic Policy', J. E. Meade: *David Green*		281
Publications Received		286
On its Course as Strong as Ever	**Nicola Seyd**	287

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'NO!' TO THE TORY-WILSON MARKET

Andrew Rothstein

'OVER your face a web of lies is woven,' the socialist poet, Edward Carpenter, told the British workers nearly a century ago. Harold Wilson and his pro-Market colleagues, though campaigning today in an essentially Tory cause, surely remember those words—never more true than today.

For when he and his colleagues speak of 'Europe', they mean eight West European states with 200 million population. But there are another 24 states in the real Europe, more than 400 million people. What arrogance, to give the West European rump the title of 'Europe', excluding all the socialist countries and such others as Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Austria and Greece!

The Wilson group claim to be 'internationalists' because, with the Tories, they want to keep Britain in economic association with that West European rump. But internationalism for the working class—ever since the First International of 1864—has always in all countries meant international brotherhood of worker and worker, socialist and socialist, not of worker and capitalist. Every one of the Common Market eight has a capitalist economy, like Britain, not a socialist one. What impudence, to pass off a joint market shared, or fought over, by competing capitalists as though it is working class internationalism!

They even claim that membership of the Common Market is a step towards socialism in Europe. Yet every one of the 'eight' is ruled either by a frankly anti-socialist government (France, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, Ireland) or by a coalition of anti-socialists with right-wing Labour (West Germany, Holland, Denmark). Every one of these governments, like the British Tories, therefore openly encourages the vast multinational trusts—the pillars of modern capitalism. What nonsense, to imagine that the entry of British Labour into this Tory club has advanced the cause of socialism!

And what nerve, to make this claim when the Tory leaders themselves are letting the cat out of the bag! Listen to them. A Yes vote is 'vital for our Conservative Party's future'; its opponents 'want to see a completely socialist Britain' (Whitelaw, April 12). Lord Home returns to the Tories' old anti-socialist, anti-Soviet vomit of 1945, damning socialism under the guise of 'the alien creed of communism'

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and explaining that Nato must be 'underpinned' by the 'European Community' (April 21). Similarly, withdrawal would 'make it difficult for Nato to be effective'—and that is why withdrawal is supported by those 'who wish to weaken our society', i.e. capitalism (Heath, April 27).

The truth is that the Labour government's majority accepts membership of the Common Market, with all its disastrous consequences for Britain—constantly rising food prices, maintained where required by the trusts through destruction, 'denaturing', reduced production, taxed imports and other devices: free movement of capital *out* of Britain, and free entry of foreign manufactures *into* Britain without regard to national planning: not to speak of abandoning the right to trade independently with the socialist countries—for the same reason that it has abandoned any pretence of fulfilling the Labour Party Conference decision to cut the arms bill by £1,000 million, or the historic obligation in the 1973 Labour programme 'to bring about a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power and wealth in favour of working people and their families,' above all by establishing 'direct control, through ownership, of a substantial and vital sector of the growth industries, mainly in manufacturing, which hold the key to investment performance' (pp 7 and 30 of the programme). For all three acts of desertion stem from the same root: refusal to strike at the great trusts and their interests, at home and abroad.

These are the issues which are involved in the vote on June 5. Will the Labour government be allowed to surrender the interests of the British working people, and therefore of socialism, to the interests of big business, or not? Everyone who votes 'No' will be voting for the people: everyone voting 'Yes' will be voting for the multinational trusts.

While these lines were being written, an enormous campaign to discredit the British economy and promote an international bankers' and other speculators' attack on the pound was being swiftly developed by their British spokesmen—the Tory Party and its reptile capitalist press—just as in 1931. The aim was open and unashamed: to 'rescue' Harold Wilson and his right-wing colleagues from their difficulties within the labour movement by bringing about the expulsion of left-wing socialist ministers from the government (at least) and the formation (if possible) of an anti-working class coalition, pledged to give the multinational big trusts still greater opportunities to operate in Britain itself. The defeat of this campaign is

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clearly the way forward for the workers and all socialists—both by bringing out millions to vote 'No!' on June 5, and by insisting that a Labour government worth its name should counter-attack these enemy trusts, root and branch, once and for all, as the Labour Party's 1973 programme promised.

May 14, 1975

VISIT OF SOVIET TRADE UNIONISTS

Len Murray
General Secretary
Trades Union Congress

IN recent years there has been a general movement towards more frequent contact between trade union organisations in Western and Eastern Europe. Exchanges of this kind have in the main been exploratory. That is to be expected in the initial phases of contact which involve a measure of what might be termed familiarisation: visits to factories, government departments, employers' organisations and so on. Familiarisation is also marked by exchanges of information and views at length about various aspects of industry, employment and politics.

More recently a quite different area of contact has begun to emerge, marked by the fact that meetings are not bilateral but multilateral. This movement, involving as it does a large number of national centres in Western and Eastern Europe, has been careful and cautious and the aim has been to shift towards businesslike and down-to-earth discussion of specific subjects. Perhaps the most characteristic, and certainly the most public, of these multilateral contacts so far has been the conference which took place in Geneva at the end of February this year, when representatives from most of the central trade union organisations in Western and Eastern Europe discussed ways to improve the working environment and the handling of toxic substances in industry.

The conference was, of course, a large gathering which had been very carefully prepared on the technical level, with expert documents produced by representatives from both sides working as a group. This preparation in itself was a worthwhile exercise for the participants. The fields covered turned out to offer much scope for technical co-operation, which has yet to be exploited.

That conference, now universally known as the Geneva Conference,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

may well turn out to have made a lasting mark on relationships between trade union bodies in Eastern and Western Europe. Specifically, the limelight focussed on topics where the immediate interest on either side was domestic, where progress could be made directly in the improvement of conditions of work at home, and in directions where the technical and material means were already available.

The participants went back to their own organisations to discuss the results and to consider what could be done, and whether they should meet again to report progress and to consider further specific matters in 1976.

The visit of a Soviet trade union delegation to Britain at the end of March and the beginning of April was not originally conceived in that framework. The invitation was issued by a TUC delegation to the USSR and accepted as long ago as 1973, when it was not yet known whether such meetings in the Geneva conference would be possible though the idea was in the air.

It is a pity that the publicity and the concentration on personalities which surrounded the visit almost totally obscured—for the British public at least—the current context outlined above, because the main topic of discussion was what should follow Geneva. That is not something the TUC and the AUCCTU* can decide—except as it concerns them bilaterally—because many other national centres are involved, but many ideas were thrown into the discussion.

There was still, of course, a good deal of information exchanged about domestic affairs. That is important, because the fact of ideological and social differences—the contrast between the systems within which the two organisations work—was clearly recognised on both sides. There still has to be a good deal of explanation on both sides, but it is important to realise that time spent on explanation, and on the reasons for different attitudes, is a necessary prelude and accompaniment to dialogue, and will remain so.

Nevertheless, the discussions during the visit started on the basis of a similarity of attitudes already identified in regard to the improvement of living and working conditions, and particularly in the fields of health and safety at work, which had been worked over during the preparations for the Geneva Conference.

So the first question during the discussions in London was whether there was further ground to be explored within this area. The answer was an emphatic yes from both sides, and suggestions were made about how to proceed bilaterally—by meetings of experts, by contact

* All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (the General Council of the Soviet TUC)—Ed, *LM*.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at the factory level, by exchanges among safety officials, by selecting limited topics for deeper exploration, and so on.

More generally there was an inclination to look round at some other subjects which have a trade union impact, the employment aspects of advancing technology or participation in management, for example. There was also discussion of the types of contact—seminars, exchanges of lecturers, and so on—which might develop from a closer look at some of the topics suggested.

In this way the benefits of the period of preparation for the Geneva Conference were identified, and a general consensus emerged that contacts should now move on another step, looking forward to another conference, but looking more immediately towards the identification and preparation of issues which could provide the basis for co-operative study.

So the range of possible subjects has been widened in practical directions. The way is now much more open to interaction at the working level. This is what the participants in the London discussions set out to do, and both sides were well satisfied with the progress that had been made.

USING SOMEONE ELSE'S YARDSTICK

Nikolai Yefimov

ONE absurd thing happens with unreasoning obstinacy when the trade union movement of two social systems is compared in the West, and especially in Britain. Namely, someone else's yardstick is used in measuring the trade unions in the socialist countries. The Soviet trade unions function in altogether different conditions, those of a socialist society. They exercise different rights and their tasks also differ in many respects.

I remember very well the first time I attended a meeting of a trade union branch in the London Borough of Hackney. Everything there was unusual for me. First of all, I wondered why the meeting was held in a pub. Being born and brought up in Soviet times, I just could not grasp what, evidently, was a simple truth for British working people, namely, that factory owners do not allow their class opponents to assemble on the territory or in premises belonging to the former. The reason why I wondered was that all trade union meetings in the USSR take place either in factory premises or in trade union clubs. It cannot be otherwise because all enterprises,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

banks, depots and universal stores are the property of the entire people.

Another thing: why were only manual workers present at that Hackney meeting? Where were the technicians, representatives of the management and clerical staff? In the Soviet Union all these people are trade union members and all are in the same union. If something goes wrong, the plant manager can always be called upon to give an explanation at a trade union meeting. If he or she makes mistakes, they can be rectified on the spot. Should he, the manager, for instance, grossly violate labour laws, the trade union can resort to such an extreme measure as passing a 'no confidence' vote.

One more strange thing for me was that, according to our yardstick, the range of issues discussed at that Hackney meeting was limited: pay, dismissals, trade union dues, rent for the use of a meeting hall. Distribution of housing was not mentioned at all. (In the USSR, all living accommodation built with factory money is allocated through special commissions set up by the factory trade union committees.) No reports were made on the work of particular factories. (Such reports are perfectly natural in the Soviet Union.) Nobody spoke about organising an out-of-town summer camp for the children, and nobody reported on the way social maintenance funds were being spent. (In the USSR the workers do not pay a single kopeck out of their future pension, sick benefit, etc. Appropriations for this come from the state budget, and their actual

---

LABOUR MONTHLY FIFTY YEARS AGO

Everyone must agree with Swales [then President of the TUC] that the most important achievement during the last twelve months has been the establishment of an agreement and contact with the Soviet trade union movement. This coming together, which is valuable in itself, acquires special importance when we realise that it is a step towards establishing the unity of the international trade union movement, the necessity of which is suggested by the international character of capitalist stabilisation.

It is most characteristic that the *rapprochement* began with the coming together of our trade union movement and that of the Soviet Union. Our movement comes into direct conflict with that capitalist class which leads the attack of reaction. The Soviet trade unions are the bulwark of that country which has not only repelled all the capitalist attacks but continues to grow and be strengthened in spite of the increasing hatred of stabilising capitalism. The alliance of these two organisations, British and Soviet, alone represents a vast force, the importance of which is clearly indicated by the wild howl of the whole capitalist press.

(From 'Problems of the Labour Movement', by P. Braun, *Labour Monthly*, June 1925)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

distribution is supervised by the trade unions.) Also absent from the meeting agenda were many other questions which are dealt with regularly at trade union meetings in our country.

Here, upstairs in the Hackney pub, I realised what a difference there was in the conditions of work of the trade unions in the two countries.

A worker was accepted at that meeting as a union member, and the secretary of the branch handed him a copy of the address to new members. I did not see this highly interesting document in any British paper but it is known to everyone in that union. It says: 'May you live to see the day when the unity of the workers becomes so strong that we can end the system which creates unemployment and poverty in the midst of plenty, and replace it with a just and equitable one, which will ensure a full and happy life to all who render useful service in society.'

As for the Soviet Union, it has long put an end to the system that engenders inflation, unemployment, national and social inequality. And this, by the way, was done with the help of the British working people at a crucial time for us, when the capitalist forces endeavoured to strangle the world's first workers' and peasants' state. In that grim period we heard the British workers say firmly: 'Hands off Russia!'

In this new country, the trade unions could not operate in the old way. It became more complicated to work at all trade union levels—from the chairman of the local trade union committee all the way up to the secretary of the central committee of the trade union—because the range of their possibilities broadened considerably and greater demands were made of them.

On the one hand, it would seem that it was easier now for the trade unions to uphold the rights of the working people because they, and the party and the state, pursued one and the same objective of raising the material and cultural standards of the population. The trade unions acquired rights previously inconceivable. For instance, nobody could be dismissed from his or her job if the trade union organisation objected. In case the plant manager suddenly signed such an order, it would be invalid without the trade union committee's sanction. In the event of infringements of working conditions in factories and mines, the trade union could now close down production until the faults were removed. Not a single new enterprise could go into operation without the trade union technical inspectorate being convinced that all labour safety rules were observed. Work quotas and rates could be revised only with the consent of the trade union committee.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the other hand, the Soviet trade unions also acquired new and quite extensive functions, the main one being the running of production. The years of Soviet power have seen the emergence of various forms of involvement of the workers in this management—general meetings, people's control groups (checking up, first of all, on the work of the managerial staff), standing production conferences (these draw up recommendations for the plant manager to consider and decide upon) and so on. Short- and long-term planning, distribution of the plant's income and other matters of major importance are decided only with the participation of the trade unions, which are the biggest organisations in the country.

The allegation, propped up in the West to this day, that enterprises can be owned and run only by the select upper crust, has been knocked full of holes by the Soviet Union. Highly gifted production organisers have emerged from the midst of the working class. Most Soviet plant managers, in particular, either grew up in workers' families or began their adult life as workers. Economic recessions and crises are non-existent in the Soviet Union, and the country is showing a very high rate of advance. Isn't this proof that the ruling working class is making a success in running the country?

Someone still wonders why there are no strikes in the USSR. The right to take industrial action is a major gain of the working class, and, in this sense, Britain or France differs favourably from Chile or Uruguay, though all these countries belong to the same social system. But industrial action is tense, nerve-racking, dramatic. It is not without reason that the Soviet Union always comes out in solidarity with those who go on strike. For instance, read what the Soviet press has to say, in particular, about strikes in your country, and you will see that what I have just said is true. However, in our opinion, if workers in one country or another take industrial action, it means that they have no other way of fighting for their interests.

Most of the strikes in the West are due to the dismissal of workers, shop stewards included, and the unchecked spiralling of prices.

What can be said in this connection about the USSR? Take me, for instance. I am 42. Never in my lifetime have rents or metro fares gone up. Prices for staple foods and services have remained stable for decades. I already explained about dismissals and the role played by the trade unions in this matter. Therefore, I ask you, what is more democratic and easier for the working man: to take industrial action in support of workmates unfairly dismissed from their jobs, or simply impose a veto on a plant manager's order?

Naturally, we also have our own problems. For instance, the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

transfer of railways to electric traction and automatic control has meant the release of thousands of employed people. But, in conditions of a planned economy, management and trade unions foresaw several years earlier what would happen, and took proper measures. They gave the people every opportunity of acquiring new skills and professions. Existing enterprises were expanded and new ones were built. Nobody remained without jobs and nobody suffered from less pay. And all this, mind you, came about without industrial action.

Strikes are not banned in the USSR, but the grounds for them have long ceased to exist. The Soviet trade unions are entitled to solve any problems that may arise, and handle them without resorting to extreme measures. Our people are perfectly satisfied with this arrangement.

UNITY FOR LABOUR'S 1973 PROGRAMME

Bob Wright
Executive Councillor
Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers
Engineering Section

THE British working class are during the next few days to be subjected to influences aimed at denigrating those in the labour movement who are seeking to establish the policy adopted by the 1973 Labour Party Conference and objectives which aim to establish a socialist system of society during our lifetime.

The issues on which we are called to determine are membership of the EEC under the Treaty of Rome or, alternatively, to lend our support to those in the labour movement who are proposing fundamental changes and indeed seeking to establish those changes during the life of the present government.

Many anti-Common Market propagandists overlook the fundamental political and democratic issues involved in the decisions to be taken in the referendum on June 5. These issues are closely related to the resurgence in the British labour movement for real positive changes in direction of the Labour Party and the Labour government. Recent decisions to challenge the wellbeing of the working class are contrary to those ambitions: the Healey budget, which legislated for unemployment, is a betrayal of one of the fundamental principles of Labour's policy, which is the right to work and the right to a decent job in our society, The budget was a contribution to the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

requirements of the bureaucrats in Brussels to remove by stages those elements of policy which had contributed towards a basis on which socialism could be built.

The subsidisation of housing, food and social standards, although they were minor achievements, laid a foundation of principle to make available to all, and particularly the poorer elements of our society, the essential ingredients of life. Every pensioner, every lower paid worker, now knows the price that is being paid to accept the policies laid down by the bureaucratic EEC commissioners and their 'lackeys' in Britain and Western Europe. Labour's manifesto, on which the last two elections were fought, clearly indicated a change of direction on public ownership.

> The experience of Labour governments has made it increasingly evident that even the most comprehensive measures of social and fiscal reform can only suceed in masking the unacceptable and unpleasant face of a capitalist economy, and cannot achieve any fundamental changes in the power relationships which dominate our society....
>
> But if the causes of inequality are to be attacked at their roots, economic power must be transferred from a small *élite* to the mass of the people.

The policy statement goes on to reflect on the failure of our economic resources to support the necessary investment in industry and, indeed, to highlight the fact that successive Labour governments have failed because they have not had the control of the vital economic forces which determine the level of employment, the level of productivity and the realities of expanding economy under their control. It further states:

> It is now plainly evident that private and public interests do not by any means always coincide, and that only direct control, through ownership, of a substantial and vital sector of the growth industries, mainly in manufacturing, which hold the key to investment performance, will allow a Labour government of the future to achieve its essential planning objectives in the national interest.

If those statements were sound in 1973, they are increasingly true and vital to Labour's progress and the development of a socialist economy and a planned society. It is on this basis that we must see the Common Market as an international organisation for strengthening capitalist monopoly, determined to relegate any public involvement in industry to the role of capitalist industry. The fundamental principle of the Treaty of Rome lays down that no influences may be introduced into public or private industry which upset the balance

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of normal marketing competitive pricing. It is this principle which subordinates the issue of public ownership to the free market economy which has caused havoc in our society in the past century. Unemployment, slumps and economic crises have been the order of the day throughout the whole of the past hundred years of our industrial society. If the working class wish to change this situation they must first vote to reject the Common Market and, secondly, organise support for the policies being pursued by some ministers in the present government who are under severe attack from the Tory press and from right-wing trade union leaders and politicians.

The unity of the left-wing forces in the trade union and labour movement becomes vital at this time in our history. Those who denigrate what we have achieved are equally guilty of denigrating the aims that we seek to achieve in the future. The democratic structure already established was won by hard and bitter struggles by our forebears and by many in the present labour movement. We will not hand over those rights to a new system based on a capitalist club in Western Europe without a struggle. The British public will be subjected to the vilest propaganda influences of big capital interests, who seek to maintain the privileged society which Labour's programme denounced, and to undermine the basic concepts of a fundamental redistribution of wealth in our society and a movement in the direction of a socialist planned economy.

I believe therefore that we must unite the whole of our movement to achieve Labour's programme, to fight to maintain that programme and to reject the right-wing policies which failed in the last Labour government and led to its downfall. And we must demand that those in parliament respond to the basic policies determined or, indeed, are removed from their leadership in order that we can create the type of leadership that will fulfil those policies.

My involvement in discussions within the trade union movement and with the present government on British Leyland, Ferranti, Alfred Herbert, Norton Villiers Triumph and many other companies facing economic and cash crises, have led me to the firm conviction that our industries have been sacrificed on the altar of profit and that the city and financial centres of our economy have abused their role in society and must be controlled in the interest of the community as a whole. Let us go forward. Not backward.

Full time students will be interested in the special concession on *Labour Monthly* subscription rates. See inside back cover for details and subscription form.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THOUGHTS ON THE 'ULSTER' CONVENTION

C. Desmond Greaves

ON May 8, 1975, the Northern Ireland Constitutional Convention met at Stormont. The United Ulster Unionists hold an overall majority, and before the proceedings began the redoubtable Mr Ian Paisley had ensured that the Union flag should spread its wings above. After forty minutes, Mr Glen Barr, one of the knights of last year's stoppage, walked out in protest against the holding of 'loyalist' prisoners in Scotland, when 'republican car-bombers' had been repatriated to the six counties. The United Ulster Unionists are a loose alliance whose leaders, Craig, West and Paisley, compete for the limelight and combine for the sake of the dance. How long it will go on nobody can say. The first shots have been fired by their side. If they all walk out, the Convention may pass into history before these words are in print. But there are substantial emoluments for somebody at the end of the pipeline, favours to be given, patronage to be bestowed. They may prefer to rock the boat rather than to sink it.

Against the 47 seats of the UUUC, the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) can muster only 17. This party occupies much the same position as the old Nationalists. Their poll stood up well in spite of 'provisional' Sinn Fein's advice to the voters to abstain. Republicans and socialists have perhaps understandably blamed them for excessive moderation, but it is impossible to withhold sympathy from the representatives of a cruelly oppressed minority who might be excused almost any folly or excess, but who have preserved traditions of decency and sanity under impossible conditions. The Alliance Party, composed of moderate or liberal Unionists who have reacted against sectarianism, won eight seats, while Mr Faulkner's Unionist Party of Northern Ireland won only five. The Alliance Party fought out of conviction. Mr Faulkner's were believed to be turncoats who fought out of convenience. There are two independent Unionists, one a supporter of the Ulster Volunteer Force, who are included in the 47. And one member of the Northern Ireland Labour Party. To this degree was it possible for oftentimes class conscious workers to put behind them all considerations of class.

The supporters of Mr West have 19 seats, those of Mr Craig 14, and those of Mr Paisley 12. Those skilled at counting heads and devising permutations will be speculating over how long they will

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

continue to row in one galley. That will depend on Westminster policy.

So what is that policy? It is derived from the Sunningdale Conference, from which arose the Assembly established last year. Two decisions of this conference disquieted extreme Unionists: first the establishment of an Executive based on power-sharing, that is to say members of minority parties should hold ministries and sit in the cabinet; and second, the setting up of a Council of Ireland to which administrative powers could be transferred. It was this last which so incensed the extremists that they staged last year's counter-revolution, wrecked the Assembly with Westminster's condonation if not connivance, and ended Mr Faulkner's tight-rope walking in the role of honest broker. It is, as said above, derived from Sunningdale. But how much of Sunningdale survives?

Mr Merlyn Rees is definite that Westminster will accept no proposition which rejects the SDLP aim of power-sharing. While the SDLP insists also on what was described as an 'Irish dimension', that is to say, a special relation between the six and the twenty-six counties, Mr Rees does not seem quite so convinced. Mr Airey Neave, a Tory MP, has declared that power-sharing cannot be 'imposed', but his party claim to be continuing their policy of bipartisanship with Labour, and it is implied that if the UUUC reject power sharing, then direct rule will continue indefinitely. The Dublin government and the Fianna Fail opposition also profess to stand by Sunningdale, but the ebullient Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien, the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, whose colleagues cannot keep him off the subject of Northern Ireland, has dismissed both planks as unrealistic. And it was noticeable that the SDLP spokesman on Radio Eireann complained not that this impertinent intervention involved a proposition that they could not accept, but that it weakened their bargaining position. Some of the Unionists are known to be willing to accept power sharing if the 'Irish dimension' goes by the board. Others would be prepared to have the minority parties attached to ministries through advisory committees, and one can imagine some measure of this sort being passed off as a form of power-sharing. It is taken for granted that the SDLP will be forced to compromise.

All this is being mulled over when over three hundred men (all from the Republican side) are interned without trial, when sectarian assassinations take place almost daily, and when army harassment of the nationalist population is only marginally less oppressive despite the 'provisional' IRA ceasefire, and while the Emergency

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Provisions Act remains seemingly irremovably embedded in the Westminster statute book. The decisions facing the SDLP will not be easy ones. Many of their supporters will be saying: 'How long, Oh Lord, how long?'

At this point a Lancashire MP who, to the best of my belief, has never previously ventured into the Irish arena, has suggested that the British government should 'set a date', for example six months from now, by which time agreement must be reached, after which, if it is not reached, British troops will be withdrawn from the six counties and financial support cut off. The notion was of course first mooted by the late Richard Crossman, who did not conceal its coercive, its punitive aspect. For whatever legal and political nonsense the proposition makes, which side can least afford to stand firm? Obviously the weaker side. So here is one more inducement to the SDLP to accept whatever the Unionists are prepared to concede, and thus release the English government from its promise.

Much of the feeling for the withdrawal of British troops stems from an awakening realisation that the British presence in Ireland is imperialistic. But it is necessary to see clearly wherein the imperialism resides. Ask any schoolboy what is democracy. He will reply government by the majority. But that is not the end of it. 'Majority *of whom*?' The majority of the Irish people reside in the twenty-six counties. Even if every man jack in the north was a Unionist, they are still the majority. But English imperialism has denied them the exercise of their majority rights in six counties by putting a border round them and keeping them out. If the proposition is that England now relinquishes her claim to sovereignty in Ireland, then the rest of Ireland is involved and should be consulted. And so should those members of the majority of the Irish people who have been turned by the border into an artificial minority. So should the trade unions. A change of this magnitude cannot just be slapped on a country, however sound the principle it is based on.

But if the proposition is that British troops should be withdrawn while the sovereignty is either still at Westminster, or in Westminster's gift, to be bestowed on the Unionists if it is so desired, while oppressive legislation is still on the statute book, while elementary civil rights are denied, while the economic, political and military power of Unionism is still available for the oppression of the ordinary people, Catholic *and* Protestant, then what is being contemplated is as irresponsible as was the deliberately provocative Belgian withdrawal from the Congo, in hope that in the resulting chaos the colonial power would be called back.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Communists and Republicans did not do well in the Convention election. It should however be appreciated that there exists in the six counties a massive progressive potentiality which is frustrated and stultified by political conditions it is in the power of Westminster to change. Their demands for the withdrawal of troops from security duties, pending complete withdrawal, the ending of internment, and a serious attempt to remove the grievances of the opponents of the Unionists, would be more widely echoed than the poll shows, and once tolerable political conditions are restored we can expect the creative activity of the ordinary people to begin the reconciliation of a divided working class. A key role will be played by the trade unions.

LABOUR PARTY—THE FUTURE

Dennis Somerville*

SOME time ago there was a debate on TV between Labour MP Frank Allaun and Julian Critchley, the Tory MP for Aldershot. Apart from the repugnance of having a Tory like Critchley defending the actions of a Labour government in relation to the supply of arms to the fascist junta in Chile, one thing he said was very interesting. This was that the Labour Party is a coalition—on the right the social democrats and on the left the socialists.

Many Constituency Labour Parties will very shortly be going through the machinery of selecting prospective parliamentary candidates, and it will be essential that they be absolutely clear as to where each of the candidates appearing before them stands in relation to such a coalition.

'I am a socialist.' This is very easy and quite painless to say, and we have all heard it many times, but we have also heard many different definitions, and this is clearly where the crunch lies.

For me the definition of socialism is quite clear and uncompromising—from each according to his ability, to each according to his deed. On every Labour Party member's card is printed the words of clause four of our constitution—to secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

From the very first Labour government of Ramsay MacDonald

*Dennis Somerville is deputy leader of the Labour group on Rushmoor Borough Council, and Chairman of the Aldershot Constituency Co-operative Party.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we have experienced numerous administrations, elected by popular vote for programmes promising progressive policies, only for the electorate to be betrayed by those who for so long have dominated the Labour Party. We are in the process of seeing this yet once again, with certain sections of the party insisting that the Labour leadership fulfil its pledges made in the manifesto, and others backtracking as fast as they can.

In June 1974, at the Central Hall, Westminster, there was a conference convened by Clay Cross Labour Party, at which there were representatives from over 200 Constituency Labour Parties, 100 Young Socialist branches and 200 trade union organisations. Listening to the debates was like having a shot of adrenalin. Here were the rank and file of the Party, reaffirming their faith in real socialist policies, and the call that came out from that conference was a loud 'No retreat!'

But for this situation to be possible, let alone for it to be achieved, it is essential to have in parliament a majority of Labour MPs pledged to carry out the socialist policies required to free this country from the capitalist society under which we live. To do this we must reverse the position whereby we allow our party to fall into the hands of career politicians and non-socialists. One possible way to do this is to make MPs subject to recall by their constituencies, and for their salaries and other monies received as a direct consequence of their position to be paid to the constituency party and for the constituency to pay the member a salary not in excess of the average industrial wage, plus expenses and clerical assistance. Also, and far more important, the Parliamentary Labour Party must be bound by the decisions of National Conference. They should be the servants of Conference, not the masters. The argument that a government must be responsible to the whole electorate simply does not hold water when one considers the fact that none of them would be where they are if it were not for the grass roots of the Party, and of course the obvious fact that the real power does not exist in parliament but with the 300 companies that own 87 per cent of the country's assets.

At the last general election the Tories campaigned on two main issues. Firstly, they campaigned under the banner of law and order, but let us be quite clear—they meant their law and their order. Their main attack was on the trade unions, with the obvious intention of breaking and driving them into the ground. Only the engineers held firm, with the TUC and the Parliamentary Labour Party capitulating at a very early stage. Thank God, the Tolpuddle Martyrs did not

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

take the same attitude or there would not be a Labour Party as we know it today.

The other banner they raised was Heath's slogan of One Nation, yet we all know as a fact that 95 per cent of the nation actually do the work and the other 5 per cent sit squarely on their backs reaping the benefit.

We have seen, ever since the advent of capitalism, periodic crises. In the early days these were solved either by dragging the country into wholesale war or by creating vast armies of unemployed. We have also seen the periods between these crises continuingly shortening, and we simply cannot afford to carry a capitalist system any longer.

ABE MOFFAT

Michael McGahey

(The following oration by Michael McGahey, President of the Scottish Area of the National Union of Mineworkers, was made at the funeral on March 31, 1975, of Abe Moffat, Scottish Area President from 1942 to 1961, whose death at the age of 78 brought to a close on March 28 a lifetime of service to the labour movement. His articles in Labour Monthly *included: 'Successes in the Scottish Miners' Struggles' (1934), 'A Miner Looks at 1943' (1943), 'Debate on Colonies at Brighton TUC' (1954), 'This Trades Union Congress' (1961) and 'White Papers or Real Plans?' (1964). The Editorial Board of* Labour Monthly *join in paying their respects to this great working class leader.)*

WE gather today to pay our last farewell to our dearly beloved Comrade, Abe Moffat. In this period of grief and sorrow we extend our sympathy to Ellen, his wife and life-long companion, to Effie, Ella and Abe, to Chick, Brenda and Chris, and to his grandchildren, all who knew his love and reciprocated in loving a wonderful father and grandfather. Those of us who have had close relationships with this remarkable family—and their friends extend to many parts of the world—know of the warm and generous hospitality received on any visit to Abe and Ellen.

Abe Moffat was born into a mining family and with his brothers entered into the mining industry and was soon facing the wrath of the coal owners in his struggle against their ruthless exploitation of the mining communities. It was to this struggle to end injustice and poverty that Abe Moffat dedicated his life.

The name Moffat soon became a legend throughout the Fife, then

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Scottish and ultimately British mining industry. No task was too great to tackle. When difficulties appeared the cry went up, send for Abe, who with brothers Alex, Jim, Tom and Davie, were in the thick of every struggle to defend and improve the conditions of the miners and their families.

It was in these early struggles that Abe soon recognised the need for unity and the forging of a strong 'United Mineworkers' Union'. Indeed Abe, along with John McArthur, Alex Moffat, Davy Proudfoot and many other progressive forces formed the famous 'United Mineworkers of Scotland' in the battle against those who were dividing the ranks and holding back the advance of the workers. Its contribution can never be ignored. Victimisation and imprisonment were no strangers to Abe and those who fought with him, but nothing would divert him or them from continuing on the road to unity and progress.

After more than twenty years fighting for one united union in Scotland, he achieved his goal in March 1944, when successful amalgamation took place of the six county unions and he became the first president. This laid the basis for a great breakthrough on the part of the miners. Abe applied his talent and skill to creating the conditions for an active and participating membership.

He soon was establishing the Scottish Miners' Youth Movement and developing the educational services of the union through which people like Lawrence Daly, Bill McLean, myself and many others who are still serving the union at national, area and local level came. He always encouraged the young people to participate in this work.

He also continued the development of international relations, and the Scottish Area became famous for welcoming delegations from miners' trade unions all over the world. He was a true internationalist and recognised the need for international trade union unity in the struggle, not only to win wages and conditions, but for the establishment of world peace.

Abe Moffat, Willie Pearson, John Wood, John McArthur, Jimmy McKendrick, Jimmy Tennyson: their names are written large in the history of the Scottish miners. So also in the Scottish Trades Union Congress. Because of the work of Abe and those others, the Scottish miners have a tremendous respect granted to them from their brothers and sisters in the Scottish Trades Union Congress.

Likewise in the field of social welfare. If we have, as we do, many thriving and successful miners' welfare clubs and community centres, they are there because of the work of Abe Moffat who looked to enrich the lives of people.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here was a life which was spent in the working class movement. He was an example to us all. He was a Communist and recognised the need for a working class party dedicated to socialism. As a Communist he fought for the democratic rights of his members and created the conditions for them to enjoy these rights. He was truly an example to us all.

Therefore, as we lower our banners in respect to Abe Moffat, we will lift them again and proudly march forward as he would wish us to do.

Good-bye, Abe. You will never be forgotten.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA ENDS AMERICAN 'DOMINOES'

William Pomeroy

THE rapidity with which the US position in Indo-China disintegrated in the space of two months, in March-April 1975, has been matched by the speed with which south-east Asian countries have been adjusting positively to the presence of new revolutionary governments in the region. Some Western observers, still transfixed by the propaganda of a bygone period, have seen in this the working out of the fearsome 'domino theory' with which US imperialist doom-sayers have frightened themselves for over two decades.

Malaysia's Home Affairs Minister, Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, quickly pricked that fantasy. On May 6 he dismissed the events in Cambodia and South Vietnam as merely the fall of 'American dominoes', and declared that other states in south-east Asia would not be similarly affected 'unless their internal order happened to be a function of American support.'

A dissociation from visible American imperialist support has been taking place in the whole of south-east Asia, coupled with moves to recognise and to establish friendly relations with the new liberation governments. Most forthright has been the position of Thailand, which literally ordered all US troops and bases out of the country within less than a year. Rejecting the US argument that the bases are necessary to protect Thailand from insurgency, and insisting that Thailand can take care of its own home problems, Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj said: 'We want the United States as a friend, but having a friend should not depend on whether he is allowed a military presence in your country.'

On the other side of the region, the Philippines, most thoroughly

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bound by military agreements to US policy in Asia, delivered the sharpest jolt to its ally. President Ferdinand Marcos called for the 're-examination' of the 28-year-old military agreements with the US and asserted his readiness to 'take over' US bases and to 'discard' the agreements unilaterally if the US did not consent. It was the Philippines that took the initiative in calling a special session of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN)—i.e. Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Singapore—on the day after the liberation of Phnom Penh and obtained immediate ASEAN recognition of the new Cambodian government before its composition had even been made known. The Marcos government furthermore protested against and severely limited the use of US bases as reception points for Saigon 'refugees'.

The vision of toppling dominoes produced by these attitudes has tended to rise startlingly only in the minds of those who have gone on thinking of south-east Asia as tied securely into neat alliances with the US, Britain and France. There was the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (Seato) that since 1954 had bound Thailand, the Philippines and Pakistan to the US, Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand. In addition, Britain had criss-crossed Seato with its own 1970 five-power treaty body, along with Malaysia, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand.

More than any other act of diplomacy in south-east Asia, Seato, to which Britain still clings as a partner, created conflict in the region. Its provision for countering 'subversive activity directed from without' laid the basis for the US interventionist policy not merely in Seato states but in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia over which, without their consent, a unilateral Seato 'umbrella' was thrown. Under alleged Seato 'obligations' both Thailand and the Philippines were persuaded to send troops (paid for by the US) to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, as well as having bases on their soil used for savage attacks on Indo-China.

Almost imperceptibly, however, these alliances have been evaporating. The Philippines pulled its troops out of South Vietnam as early as 1969, and the Marcos government's call for 're-examining' military agreements with the US was first made nearly two years before the 1973 Paris Agreement ending US military involvement in Vietnam. Pakistan formally withdrew from Seato in 1973, and the remaining two south-east Asian members have long insisted on an economic rather than military role for the alliance.

When Britain's Defence White Paper was published on March 19, 1975, proposing a pull-out from base installations in Malaysia and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Singapore, it evoked not a murmur of protest from any of the other participants in the 1970 five-power treaty.

A leader in the *Financial Times* on April 30 obliquely discussed the demise of this network of treaties and the reasons behind it. Shuddering at 'appalling subsequent events' due to 'US mistakes', it said that the small countries of south-east Asia 'will have to pay more attention to their own defences and *to a diplomacy designed to prevent conflicts arising*' (emphasis added). In a speech before a legal society in Manila on April 16, Philippine President Marcos discussed the rationale for such diplomacy:

> It has been said by US specialists that military bases in the Philippines are necessary to maintain *American* power, *American* military posture in the Pacific and in the Indian Ocean, in view of the growing strength of the navies of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Military bases in the Philippines therefore strengthen the *American* position and thus contribute, according to them, to the peace of the world and indirectly to the peace and security of the Philippines. This is one of the crucial questions that are to be resolved in the intensive study going on within the councils of the government.
>
> On the other side of the ledger, if the purpose of the *American* bases is to strengthen the *American* military posture in the Pacific, or in the Indian Ocean and throughout the world, does this not expose the Philippines unduly to the animosities, suspicions and the conflicts arising out of this *American* military build-up—*animosities and conflicts which we have no participation in making*?

Significantly, the reason given by Filipino spokesmen for refusing sanctuary to Saigon 'refugees' (Philippine liaison officers on US bases were directed by President Marcos to arrest any Saigon generals or political figures setting foot on Philippine soil) was that it might endanger exploratory talks then already occurring for relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and likely to occur with the new government in South Vietman.

Following the top-level government council meetings to which President Marcos referred in his above remarks, held on April 25, his press secretary, speaking of 'drastic changes' in military agreements with the US, announced that the Philippines was moving toward a position of 'non-alignment'. On cue, the government controlled Philippine press began to project 'neutralisation' for south-east Asia.

It is to be remembered that ASEAN unanimously adopted a resolution five years ago (when the US still saw a will-o'-the-wisp of victory in its Vietnam tunnel) calling for south-east Asia to become a 'zone of peace, freedom and neutrality'. At the time Malaysia was

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mentioned as the sponsor of this view, but on April 24 Adam Malik, the Foreign Minister of the country considered to be the most neo-colonial and right wing in south-east Asia, Indonesia, revealed that 'in talks within the Association of South-East Asian Nations, Indonesia has always suggested that the Philippines and Thailand "take over" American military bases in their countries.' Malik then urged that this be done now 'to help achieve stability in south-east Asia.'

This mounting general sentiment in south-east Asia directly contradicts the pronouncements of the US Ford administration, after its scramble by helicopter out of Phnom Penh and Saigon, that the US was drawing a 'defence line' of bases from Japan through Taiwan and the Philippines to Australia. The sentiment also contradicts the avowed British intention expressed in the recent Defence White Paper to remain a member of Seato.

US and British imperialist interests apparently are unwilling to concede that the entire foundation for their military blocs and bases in the region has either crumbled or been knocked away. That foundation was composed of a wholly dominant and controlling role by foreign capital in south-east Asian countries, and of the existence of subservient local ruling groups desiring imperialist protection. For Seato, the 'enemy' was the worker-peasant-based revolutionary liberation movements and the socialist countries to which they looked for support.

The forces pressing today for the removal of the imperialist military presence are the local ruling groups that have now grown up and want to stand on their own feet. Some time ago they moved up to joint venture status with foreign capital, and now they are demanding a greater share in their own economies. The 'enemy' lies still in the exploited working classes, but the 'enemy' today sits also in the board-rooms of the region's corporations: they, too, are looking to the socialist countries for support.

In the past few years a trend has emerged that is almost a rush, for south-east Asian trade and diplomatic relations with socialist countries, to take advantage of fair trade and aid opportunities that are withheld or string-tied by the US, Japan or Western Europe. This trend has accelerated as the world capitalist crisis gravely damages the trade position and developing economies of south-east Asia. The region is engaged in its own detente process and wants to be rid of the anti-communist, cold-war alliances that served US and British interests.

In Malaysia, where the Malay share in the corporate sector is only

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2 per cent, with 60 per cent in foreign hands, the predominantly Malay government has declared that it will elevate the Malay share to 30 per cent by 1990 and more later. This will inevitably be at the expense of foreign interests, and the Malaysian government is setting up government corporations to carry out and hasten the process.

In the Philippines, US interests lost their privileged 'parity' position in July 1974 with the expiration of the 1946 neo-colonial economic agreement that imposed this anomaly. The laws that came into effect last year provide for 60 per cent Filipino ownership of corporations (except for specific 'pioneer' industries that local capital is not able to finance). By early 1975, however, Filipino businessmen, with reported tacit government approval, were protesting that a 40 per cent foreign share is too large and were calling for changes in the laws to reduce foreign holdings to no more than 30 per cent.

These are the forces all over south-east Asia that are calling for neutrality and for 're-examination' of military agreements with imperialist powers. It is an independent national bourgeois outlook that has as well behind it the mass sentiment that blocs like Seato were set up to suppress. A Philippine Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Manuel Collantes, put it succinctly when he termed the new policies as a change from 'alliance diplomacy' to 'development diplomacy'. In this outlook, defence and security lie in friendly relations with all countries, not in a foreign policy of conflict.

CORRESPONDENCE

Marxist History

A READER has pointed out to me that the use of the term 'Anglo-Saxon' in my article on 'Marxist History' (*LM*, April 1975) is 'downright inaccurate' and has 'more recently been used in advocacy of racialist policies.' I am sorry, under these circumstances, to have used it. If the British Foreign Office had not been engaged up to the present day in a special cold war against me, I would have been more often in Great Britain and not have made such a mistake.

JURGEN KUCZYNSKI
Berlin, GDR

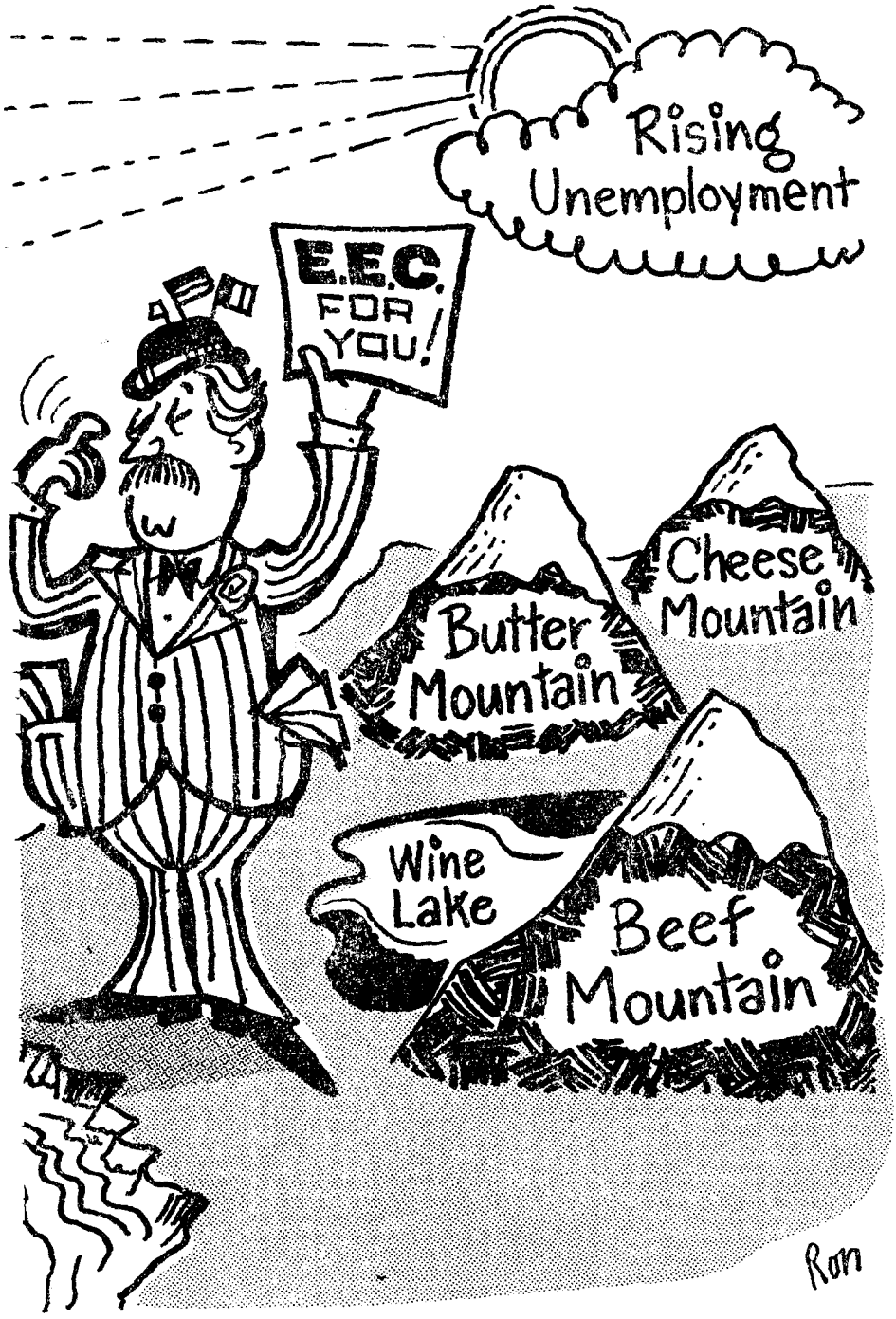
JURGEN KUCZYNSKI, in his article (*LM*, April 1975), writes: 'This brings us to an interesting question not yet investigated. . . How far has the rupture with Rome and Catholicism in the sixteenth century led to a lengthening of the working week in Britain?' And one might add, working year!

Marx, in his chapter on 'The Working Day' in *Capital*, has an interesting footnote: 'Protestantism, by abolishing all the traditional festivals and transforming them into ordinary working days, played an important part in the genesis of capital.' Forty years ago I marked this passage in my copy and added my own gloss: 'Catholicism held too many feast days.'

H. KIRTLAN
Blackburn, Lancs

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHILEAN TRADE UNIONS FIGHT BACK

Luis Figueroa*

EVER since the fascist group headed by General Pinochet staged the *coup d'état* and murdered President Allende, democratic forces in our country have been fighting against the dictatorship. At the head of these forces is the working class, and the entire Chilean population. For six days we resisted the coup, from September 11 to September 18, 1973, maintaining a general strike, with factories, work-sites and essential services occupied by the workers. But we were driven out by planes, tanks and artillery. From that time until the present day, the struggle has not ceased for a single moment. The world well knows of the bloody repression which characterised this *coup d'état*. Although imperialism never formally declared war upon us, 40,000 of our men, women and children have been killed; almost 300,000 have at one time or another been shut up in the jails and prison camps of Chile; and today between 500,000 and 600,000 of our workers have been sacked.

The military coup in Chile was not the result of a simple uprising by a group of military officers. The military who staged the coup were merely the arm used by the multinational corporations to restore their privileges in our country. The coup was organised and financed from abroad. From September 11 onwards, the social and economic policies applied in Chile have been designed to restore the power of Chilean and foreign monopolies. Decrees have removed every restriction on prices, while wages have been frozen. It is not only the factory and white-collar workers and peasants who have felt the effects of this policy: in the last months more than 300 small and medium-sized businesses and hundreds of shops have been forced to close down because of the drop in purchasing power, and the increase in taxation. In 15 months the dictatorship has increased defence expenditure by 300 per cent. So that they could carry out their policy of denationalisation of our entire country, they have had to resort to the most savage violence and repression. Today, once more, the basic wealth and resources of our country are back in the hands of foreign companies. To achieve this they had to dissolve the political parties, outlaw the CUT (our TUC), detain thousands of trade union

---

* Luis Figueroa is President of the Chilean Trades Union Congress (CUT) and former Minister of Labour of the Popular Unity government.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaders and sack all those workers who had any political or social awareness.

But it is difficult to stifle the desire for freedom of people and in particular it is difficult to defeat the determination and the thirst for freedom of the working class.

At present in Chile, the right to present wage claims, the right to engage in collective bargaining and the right to strike do not exist. Strikers are subject to the death penalty under the terms of the State of Siege, and several scores of trade union leaders have been shot for this. But in spite of this, in the last six months there have been strikes, stoppages and other actions in the most important industries in Chile, and, what is more important, in 80 to 90 per cent of the cases, these actions have been successful. In March and April this year, workers have broadened the scope of their actions to include the fight to get dismissed brothers and sisters reinstated, and those of their comrades at work who are in prison released. It is true that we still have some 12,000 trade union and political prisoners. The dictators have offered the 'alternative' of releasing some prisoners on condition that they are immediately expelled from their own country.

A few hundred prisoners have had to leave for various reasons: to protect their lives or their families, or for the security of the clandestine struggle, but the majority prefer to remain in prison rather than be expelled from Chile.

In this struggle, the unity of our workers has been broadened and strengthened. Workers of different political opinions and religious beliefs are fighting united behind the banners of the CUT, which is working underground against the junta. Since the CUT is illegal, the movement has been given another name—Central United Workers' Movement. Declarations and statements are issued, leaflets are distributed, slogans are painted on the walls, and different activities are carried out both in public and underground. In some work places the workers work to rule; elsewhere they are able to declare a full strike. It all depends upon the relative strength of the workers in each sector. But we do not scorn to carry out any protest action, however small or insignificant it may seem.

In Chile, as in Latin America in general, there are different religious beliefs. Responding to popular pressure, the churches came together and formed an Ecumenical Council. Under the changed circumstances of fascist dictatorship, they have created a Committee for Co-operation for Peace, which is working actively to get prisoners freed and to save the lives of those who are undergoing torture, as

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

well as supplying material assistance to the families, the orphans and the widows of the dead and the imprisoned. The trade union movement is working with the churches as well as with all the anti-fascist people of Chile.

In the political field, the parties of Popular Unity have re-formed clandestinely; a Political Commission of Popular Unity is working underground, and in co-operation with other political forces which did not form part of Popular Unity.

In the midst of all these problems we were able to commemorate International Women's Day in Chile, and also the twenty-second anniversary of the founding of the CUT. We celebrated May Day with a massive sports, cultural and folk music festival. May Day was celebrated inside the prison camps and in the underground movement.

The military junta is day by day more isolated and has no political base beyond the monopolies and a tiny group of fascist ideologues. Abroad, the junta has been repudiated by the democratic forces of the entire world. We would like to pay special tribute to the efforts of British workers, and especially Scottish workers, which led to the refusal by the British government to attend the meeting to renegotiate the junta's external debts. And to a similar campaign which resulted in the British delegate at the International Monetary Fund attacking a report favourable to the junta, and so helped to secure the indefinite postponement of the debt negotiations the junta had asked for.

In Chile, the intensity of the struggle and the strength of the opposition have been increasing; the economic crisis has been growing more serious; but it was above all the refusal of Chile's creditor countries to renegotiate the debt which caused some weeks ago the fall of the entire junta cabinet. It is true that the new cabinet consists of ultra-right wingers, but this is itself a proof of the increasing isolation of the junta from the vast majority of Chilean society.

We want to insist upon two matters of importance. Anti-fascist activity is being developed and spread throughout Chile. Despite the reign of terror, the determination to be free and the basic democratic instincts of our people are more powerful still. In the coming days and months we will confront important battles. In these circumstances international solidarity, concrete solidarity, will play a vital role in defining the course of Chilean history.

The struggle to achieve the economic isolation of the junta will be decisive in the coming period. If we can win this struggle, and especially if we can boycott or cut off the supply or movement of certain products, we shall have in our hands a thread which, if we can break it, will break down the entire repressive system of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

military dictatorship. We have hope that it will be possible in the coming period to revive or repeat boycott actions which have been carried out all over Britain, as well as in other countries, which will help to deliver a definitive blow to the military junta which is oppressing our people.

Terrible and great though the sacrifice has been, the sacrifice paid by our class and our whole people, there is nothing which can hold back the working class in its fight to eliminate fascism and to open the way forward to a new democracy.

PORTUGAL IS ADVANCING

Carlos Plácido*

ALTHOUGH the Portuguese revolutionary process has unique features which should make one avoid easy generalisations, it still contains many points of common interest for Marxists in other parts of the world. And a Marxist analysis of that process is justified today when the growing crisis of the whole capitalist system continues to prompt attacks against Portugal by the international monopolies.

The Portuguese revolution is seen by its foreign enemies as a dangerous example for other countries, despite the small size of Portugal and her economic under-development in relation to the rest of Europe.

The Common Market financiers find the anti-monopoly positions of the Portuguese government a detestable heresy which should not be allowed to spread into the part of Europe they so smoothly exploit. The United States and Nato capitalists find present-day Portugal—whose fascist regime they helped so openly in the past—an unreliable and undesirable part of Europe in relation to their global strategic plans. They all regret the higher wages paid today to Portuguese workers, which lower the super-profits they used to get in the past from their investments in Portugal. They have similar worries about their investments in the ex-Portuguese African colonies, trying by every means to prevent the completion of the process of independence there—specially in Angola, the richest territory, where the successive conflicts provoked by foreign interests amongst the liberation movements have closely followed their successive plots in Portugal.

---

* Carlos Plácido is a member of the Portuguese Communist Party of 28 years' standing. Articles by him appeared in *Labour Monthly* in July 1974 and, under the pen-name José Pina, in June and July 1973.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the sad truth for the monopolies is that a number of irreversible changes have taken place in Portugal, specially after the abortive armed coup of March 11.

In order to protect the Portuguese revolutionary process, in order to stabilise and defend the threatened democratic order in Portugal, the Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA), supported by the immense majority of the Portuguese people, is now represented at the highest government level by a Revolutionary Council with wide

An accurate figure for total British investment in Portugal is difficult to obtain. An estimate of £300 million seems reasonable, though this may include some investment in ex-Portuguese colonies. The following British firms have interests in Portugal:

British Petroleum
Shell
ICI
Unilever
British Leyland
Plessey
British Insulated Callender's Cables
Rio Tinto Zinc
Courtaulds
Allied Breweries
Anglo-Portuguese Bank
Avery's
Babcock & Wilcox
Baring Brothers
Barton Mayhew & Co
Beecham
British American Tobacco
British Oxygen
British Steel Corporation
Cable & Wireless
Charter Consolidated
Coats Patons
Consolidated Tin Smelters
Richard Costain
The Distillers Co
Drake & Cubitt Holdings
The Engineering Company of Portugal
The Ever Ready Co
Eucalyptus Pulp Mills
W. Y. Graham & Co
International Synthetic Rubber Co
Laporte Industries
Lazard Brothers
Lisbon Electric Tramways
Bank of London & South America (Lloyds & Bolsa Group)
Marks & Spencer
Matthews Wrightson Holdings
The Metal Box Co
Mitchell Construction Holdings
Pearl Assurance Co
P & O Steam Navigation Co
Portals Holdings
Powell Duffryn
Racal Electronics
The Rank Organisation
Reckitt & Colman
Reuter, London
N. M. Rothschild & Sons
Rubber Latex
Geo. G. Sandeman Sons & Co
Sena Sugar Estates
Silva & Cosens
Smith & Nephew
Tate & Lyle
TPT (Romiley, Cheshire)
The Thompson Organisation
Trust Houses Forte
United Gas Industries
Vickers
The Wellcome Foundation
Warre & Co
Watney Mann
Western United Investment Co

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

legislative and executive powers. In April the main Portuguese political parties all signed a solemn pact with the MFA, giving it an executive role to complete the Portuguese revolutionary and democratic process within the coming five years. This pact also established the main lines of the future Portuguese constitution, already expressed in the programme of the MFA and overwhelmingly supported by the mass of the Portuguese people.

In order to curb the power of the monopolies, and to solve the contradictions between the present political and economic sources of power in Portugal, widespread measures of nationalisation were decreed after March 11. Banking, insurance, electricity, oil, steel, transport and land were all subjected to control by the democratic state as a first step to head Portugal decisively in a socialist direction.

These sweeping political and economic changes are the only possible solution for the terribly pressing problems Portugal is facing today, after 48 years of fascism and longer years of imperialist exploitation. Because of the ruinous heritage of those years; because of the monopolies' total compromise with fascism; because of the revolutionary character of the working class struggle against fascism and of the final alliance of this struggle with the military in last year's April 25 rising: because of all this, bourgeois democracy and a compromise with the monopolies are not any longer viable in Portugal. The only viable form of government is one based upon a broad front of the anti-monopoly sections of the Portuguese people, as fully embodied in the present alliance of the people with the MFA, in the provisional government coalition and in the Revolutionary Council.

It is this Portuguese reality that imperialism, with its monopoly interests, does not want at any cost to acknowledge, arrogantly trying to impose upon Portugal outdated models of bourgeois rule under cover of 'democracy'. These reactionary policies became very clear during the recent April elections for the Portuguese Constituent Assembly.

The elections had the sole objective of choosing representatives from the people to draft a constitution in agreement with the pact signed earlier by the political parties and the MFA. The elections were not for a parliament, were not to form a new government or to change the revolutionary process, whose mass support has been clearly and repeatedly demonstrated during the last year.

Despite these facts, monopoly interests exerted tremendous political and economic pressure upon Portugal throughout the period of those elections. The full weight of European social democracy, on

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

behalf of the Common Market monopolies, was piled behind the most hysterical and backward anti-Communist campaign ever seen in Portugal, with ample encouragement from the Vatican and from reactionary sections of the Catholic Church. With support from the United States and from Nato, sabotage of the Portuguese economy went ahead.

The results of the April elections were, in spite of all these machinations, a victory for the alliance between the MFA and the people. Eighty per cent of the votes went to the parties of the government coalition with the MFA, and a clear majority of the people voted for a socialist solution for Portugal. The Socialist Party got many votes from people who are not entirely committed to the policies of its leadership, but who simply support the socialist way adopted by the MFA and who were under pressure to vote for that party because of the desperate anti-Communist offensive. The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) votes confirmed that it continues to have the support of the best organised sections of the Portuguese working class and to represent fully the interests of this class; the numerical results were not at all in agreement with its real political mass influence in Portugal and merely reflected the temporary political confusion engineered by the anti-Communists.

Most important of all was the fact that the majority of the voters behind the coalition parties other than the PCP also came from sections of the Portuguese people fundamentally opposed to the monopolies. Their interests will never be protected or upheld by an impossible bourgeois democratic solution or by the anti-Communist positions of demagogic leaders out to catch their votes. Such policies are not solutions today. They are unrealistic political stands which can only carry disastrous consequences for the Portuguese people.

Exiled Portuguese reactionaries in Brazil, Spain and in other European countries, who are openly seeking a bloodletting revenge, also use demagogic and anti-Communist language in order to cover their continuous counter-revolutionary conspiracies inside Portugal. But all anti-Communists, inside and outside Portugal, must become aware that the world capitalist crisis, with imperialism in full retreat from Vietnam, can hardly afford major adventurist policies in Europe. These are the only policies opponents of the MFA are really proposing for Portugal, either in the old cold-war mood or in the more recent Chilean fashion.

The Portuguese Communist Party has a Central Committee whose members have spent a total of over 308 years in the fascist jails. The sacrifices of these and many other Portuguese Communists are part

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the political reality of today's Portugal and there is no practical possibility of ever erasing this reality, or of ending the PCP's role as the party of the Portuguese working class.

It is in the interests of the British people and of the British labour movement to acknowledge the realities of the Portuguese situation. A shared anti-monopoly policy, which includes the struggle against the Common Market monopolies, is in the interests of both British and Portuguese workers, together with other middle sections of the British and of the Portuguese people. This policy will be possible only if it includes the refusal to take an anti-PCP stand and an acknowledgement of the indispensable role of the PCP in Portugal.

The furious anti-PCP and anti-MFA onslaught by the mass media in Britain, specially in the last few months, can be very easily understood on the basis of the considerations outlined here and of the extensive British investments in Portugal.

A far-sighted British working class position in relation to Portugal can begin gradually to transform the 300 years of British imperialist domination there into a true alliance, for the mutual benefit of the people of Britain and of Portugal, in the interests of both the British and the Portuguese working classes. Monopoly capitalism is their main, confirmed and deadly enemy.

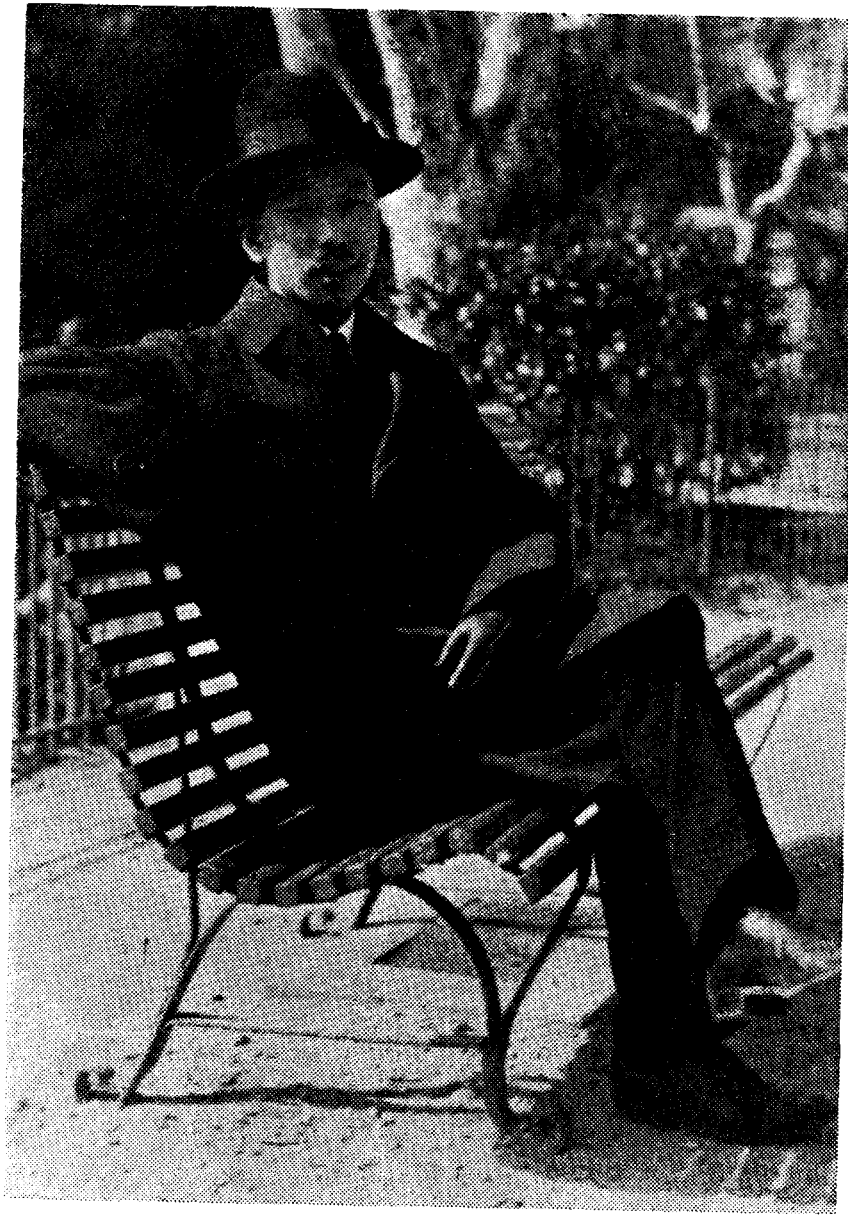
REMINISCENCES OF COMRADE R. PALME DUTT

Sanzo Nosaka

I MET Comrade Rajani Palme Dutt for the first time in 1919, probably October of that year, during a visit to the Labour Research Department at Eccleston Square; I had been in London since the end of August that year to carry out research into the labour movement and socialist movement in Britain.

He was young, spry and very active when I first met him—although later he incurred illness because of exhausting work, and he went on working for the rest of his life while continuing his fight against poor health. He was logical and precise both in speaking and in writing, and, as I remember it, his English was very easy for me, a foreigner, to understand. Maybe this stemmed from the fact, as I thought in those days, that his mother was from a non-English speaking people.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



May 1921. Sanzo Nosaka ordered by Scotland Yard to leave Britain.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the autumn of 1921, I contributed a report to the prestigious Japanese magazine *Kaizo*, which contains the following passage:

> Though very much indebted to the Labour Party, this Labour Research Department has not been doing exclusive services to the Labour Party. As a matter of fact Page Arnot, the secretary, and Palme Dutt, the international secretary, are both leading figures of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

This reminds us of the militant work both comrades Dutt and Arnot were carrying on. Later in 1924, Sangyo Rodo Chosasho (the Industry and Labour Research Institute) was founded with me as its leader, based on my experiences in Britain. This institute conducted research into Japanese politics and economy, openly from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, and provided information about the labour and communist movement in the world, under conditions in which the underground Communist Party of Japan, founded just a couple of years before in 1922, was in serious difficulty.

But what is most unforgettable for me is my first contribution to *Labour Monthly* founded with Comrade Palme Dutt as editor.

I joined the Communist Party of Great Britain upon its founding, and took part in its (second) Leeds Convention in early 1921 as delegate; it was at this Convention that the CPGB in practice completed its work of unifying revolutionary socialists of this country organisationally. The CPGB was thus carrying on its energetic work at the van of the British working class, whose struggle was confronted with increasingly serious difficulties amidst the depression; and its brilliant activity was notable in the field of theory and propaganda as well. One achievement in this respect was the founding of *Labour Monthly*, a periodical of the labour movement based on Marxism.

Labour Monthly carried 'Notes of the Month' by Comrade Palme Dutt at the beginning of each issue, and this, along with reprints of V. I. Lenin's articles and contributions by E. Varga, among others, drew attention from a wide readership. I continued to subscribe to the magazine following my return to Japan, and also had a chance to read it in Moscow later. I must say I learned a great deal from it, particularly with respect to analyses of the international situation made from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism.

At the time of the founding of this magazine I was asked, through Comrade Arnot, to be a 'contributor' to it; specifically, I was requested to contribute an article analysing the Japanese labour movement. I complied with this request; I immediately started working on the article, bringing it to near completion in a month or

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two. It was when I was putting finishing touches to it that I was ordered by Scotland Yard to leave the country for reasons of my Communist activity. I did the remaining work in great haste; I narrowly managed to hand over my manuscript to Comrade Arnot immediately before I left London for Paris on May 23, 1921.

This article of mine was carried by the magazine in two instalments in its No 2 and No 3 issues.

Through the intermediary of this article in *Labour Monthly*, the Profintern (Red International of Labour Unions) became acquainted with me and invited me to visit Moscow from late 1921 till January 1922. This turned out indeed to be an opportunity to connect the labour movement in Japan with the militant trade union movement of the world. When I visited Moscow again in 1931 to work at the Comintern I found that this *Labour Monthly* article of mine had been translated into various languages, including Japanese, German, French, Russian and Chinese, and had been distributed to the representatives of various countries.

So, whenever I remember this article, which is one of the landmarks in my life, I cannot but remember Comrade Palme Dutt and Comrade Page Arnot too.

At the seventh Comintern congress held in Moscow in 1935, Comrade Palme Dutt presented himself and spoke, and so did I. He was elected alternate member of the ECCI and I to its Presidium at the congress; but, because of the different areas of our work, I had no opportunity for talking with him. Subsequently, I moved my places of work to New York and Los Angeles (1934-35, 1936-38), to Moscow (1939-40) and to Yen'an (1940-45). In my cave in Yen'an, I often had to listen to radio news about Hitlerite air raids on London; each time I came across such news items I worried about Comrade Dutt, Comrade Arnot and other British comrades.

At the end of the second world war, I returned to the fatherland while the Communist Party of Japan was reconstructed. But under armed occupation by the US, the occupation forces barred me from political activity, compelling me to go underground; so it was not until 1959 that I was able to resume communications with the British comrades. That year I contributed an article to the journal entitled 'The Japanese People's Struggle against the Revision of the US-Japan Security Treaty'.

I have here with me a letter from Comrade Palme Dutt, dated August 1, 1968. It reads in part as follows:

> It is a pleasure to write to you again and send you greetings and good wishes

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from all of us here, including Comrade Page Arnot, after nearly half a century of contact and co-operation.

I have followed with warm appreciation the achievement of the Japanese Party in the recent elections. . . .

What I would like to ask you is to invite you to write for *Labour Monthly* a survey of the present political situation in Japan following the elections, both in respect of internal politics and in relation to American imperialism. . . .

I accepted the request, making another contribution to *Labour Monthly*. Soon afterwards I, as a contributor, sent a message of greetings to the magazine on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary.

Indeed ours was a long, enduring contact and co-operation. Our parting in London some 50 odd years ago always held the possibility of a subsequent reunion; but the parting this time does not allow me to be reunited with him. I am sad at this iron law of life. But is it only sadness that is shared between us now? Certainly not. For there are before us the Communist Party of Japan and the Communist Party of Great Britain—two parties which have kept warm relations of fraternity, advancing to attain their respective objectives.

Tokyo, April 1975

SHIPBUILDING— NATIONALISATION

Finlay Hart

THE Aircraft and Shipbuilding Industries Bill, published early in May, was launched into a stormy, economic sea. The £ was falling dramatically, inflation showed no signs of losing its upward tempo, Mr Healey had stunned everyone with his drastic budget in April while the national press, radio and television joined in the Tory howl of opposition.

Before the Bill saw the light of day, Mr Heath had promised that the Tories would oppose the Bill by every means in their power. When, in January, Mr Tony Benn, Secretary of State for Industry, announced the government's plans to nationalise the aircraft industry, and again in March, when he disclosed the plan to nationalise the shipbuilding industry, he has been accused of being the major aggravator of the industrial and economic crises facing the country.

With the publication of the Employment Protection Bill that aims to safeguard the working conditions in industry, the Petroleum Bill that will give the state a 51 per cent share in North Sea oil, and the Industries Bill that proposes to set up a National Enterprise Board,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with powers to invest in industry, we have witnessed a state of near hysteria in Tory circles, with a rising crescendo of abuse against the wicked architects of socialism, Michael Foot and Tony Benn.

Now that the Aircraft and Shipbuilding Bill is in the hands of the Tory members of parliament, we can look forward to a parliamentary conflict equal to anything we have seen in the past.

A detailed study of this Bill is an exercise that should be undertaken by all students of Marxism who are interested in the transfer of power from the capitalist class to the working class. The Bill is in accord with the social democratic aims of the British Labour Party that declares we need both efficient publicly owned industries and a vigorous, alert, responsible and profitable private sector, working together with the government in a framework which brings together the interests of all concerned. In a class society, based on the exploitation of wage labour, the antagonisms between the classes cannot be reconciled. Any measure that weakens the power of the capitalist class, or a section of that class, must receive the support of the workers and their organisations.

The Bill provides for the establishment of a public corporation to be called British Shipbuilders. The shares of the twenty shipbuilding companies, the twelve ship repair companies and the five slow speed diesel marine engine manufacturers will be taken over.

After the second reading of the Bill, an organising committee consisting of the Chairman Designate and a nucleus of other members of the new corporation will consult with the government, the managements and the trade unions to prepare detailed plans for vesting and for the initial organisation.

The Bill requires the corporation to submit from time to time to the Secretary of State reports on the broad structure of its organisations (after full consultation with the representative organisations of those working in the industry).

The Secretary of State's approval will be necessary to implement the initial organisation or any subsequent change. He will also have powers to give the corporation specific directions on the main features of its organisation.

Emphasis is laid on the great need to develop industrial democracy in the industries. The comments on the discussion paper issued in July 1974 have shown that the trade unions in particular have important and constructive ideas on how this development can be brought about. This will mean a big change in industries that have been notorious for the autocratic attitudes of the owners to their work force.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The main duty of the corporation will be to promote the efficient and economical design, development, production, sale, repair and maintenance of ships and slow speed diesel marine engines, and to promote research, using the skills and talents of all those working in the industry. The corporation will also be required to have full regard to the needs of national defence.

The Secretary of State will have power to give the corporation directions, to approve annually its corporate plan, its capital investment and research, its development programmes and its annual budgets. Finance will be provided by loans on normal terms from the National Loans Fund and by public dividend capital.

The corporation will not be restricted by its formal powers from undertaking activities which will utilise its resources (including the skills of its workers). This will allow it to take favourable opportunities to adapt to changing economic circumstances. The corporation will therefore have wide powers to diversify its activities.

Subject to the Secretary of State's consent the corporation will have power to acquire by agreement shareholdings in other companies, whether at home or overseas, and to enter into partnerships. The corporation will also have powers to provide technical assistance overseas.

Compensation will be determined by the value of the securities of the companies to be acquired. The value will be the average price during the six months ending February 28, 1974. Already the battle is joined on this issue. Clauses 26 to 34 of the Bill have been inserted to prevent serious dissipation of the assets of the companies to be taken over or, as Tony Benn put it in the House of Commons, 'the adaptation of other services to frustrate the manifest objectives of nationalisation.'

Sir Eric Yarrow, Chairman of Yarrow & Co, in a speech after the launch of a frigate on May 9, said the terms offered by the government for the nationalisation of the shipyard were totally inadequate. Hawthorne Leslie, who have gone into the red, declare that declining profitability is not the best backstrap for trying to get the best possible nationalisation terms out of the government. Vickers had a good year in 1974. Their area that showed most improvement was their stake in the British Aircraft Corporation and their shipbuilding activities. Swan Hunter's board say that they remain convinced that compensation based on estimated stock exchange quotation alone 'would result in grossly inadequate figures'. It is apparently all right to retain Govan Shipbuilders that made a loss of £5.3 million last year

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Harland & Wolff that has had to be baled out over the past years.

Since Tony Benn told the House of Commons in July 1974 that British shipbuilding had an indifferent record, in recent years, with static or falling output despite a growing world demand for ships, there has been a sharp deterioration in the shipbuilding market. The number of new ships ordered from British yards for the twelve months to December 1974 fell by nearly 50 per cent. The gross tonnage involved was less than one-fifth that of 1973.

The total order book (excluding naval work) at the end of December 1974 was 381 ships of 6,207,000 tons, worth an estimated £1,406 million. This ensures at least three years' work if there are no cancellations. Already one of Scotland's most picturesque bays is being turned into a graveyard for tankers. The excess of tanker tonnage which has followed oil price rises is estimated to be as high as 30 per cent. This is the competitive world the new corporation is being born into.

Nationalisation of the shipbuilding industry will not solve all its problems. Shipbuilding is a service industry, dependent on orders received from shipowners. It is to remain government policy to allow shipowners to build and repair at home or abroad, according to their commercial judgement. An anti-nationalisation shipping lobby could make it very difficult for the corporation. The government will eventually have to take powers, as do all other maritime powers, to stop orders being placed in foreign yards when there are empty berths in British yards. If Britain remains in the Common Market it will be unable to give more favourable treatment to its own yards. That will aggravate the corporation's problems even more.

The Bill opens up great possibilities for the men and women in shipbuilding. It is not the whole answer but is a step to the future when all industry will be nationalised, including shipping. Industry would then be able to work to an economic planned target which is impossible within a capitalist society.

BRING BACK, BRING BACK

The *Labour Monthly* office is always glad to receive old copies of the journal to help make up sets for bound volumes. We are on the look-out for copies for the years 1921-36, 1940-43 and 1945-49. Please send any you can spare to our office at 134 Ballards Lane, London, N3 2PD.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Soviet Deputy (Legal Status)
A. Bezuglov
Progress (Central Books), 156 pp, 50p

Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics
Progress, 388 pp, £1.30

IN CONTRAST to the economic crisis of capitalism in the US, Britain and many vassal states bound by imperial ties, there is no spiralling of higher prices, with wages and salaries chasing behind, in the USSR. Man cannot live by bread alone, although, let's face it, without bread, no matter what the idealists say, no one lives.

Let us look at the USSR today. There are more than two million deputies elected to the soviets (councils). These deputies must give all their energy and knowledge to the cause of communist construction and consolidate the alliance between the working class and the collective farm peasantry.

The elected representatives in the USSR, known as deputies, have a mandate from the electorate and are accountable to their electorates. This basic tenet is enshrined in article 142 of the constitution: 'It shall be the duty of every deputy to report to the electorate on his or her work and on the work of his or her soviet of the working people's deputies; every deputy may be recalled at any time upon a decision taken by a majority of the constituents in the statutory manner.'

This approach is the converse of the constitutional view in Britain often attributed to Edmund Burke. Thus the electorate of Walsall have no rights over the disappearing Stonehouse whom we are all keeping at full pay, he having left us and having entered Australia illegally under the most dubious of shadows. And this thesis is defended even in the light of the establishment of fascism in Germany and Portugal—and even after 50 years.

But as Harold Wilson recently explained, on each of his 19 visits since the second world war to that vast one-sixth of the world which is the Soviet Union, he has reported more and more progress on each occasion.

To help us understand (and it needs some understanding outside the socialist world), another publication, *Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics*, a superb technical product, sets out in detail the laws of the USSR of December 1968 on the approval of land legislation, the fundamentals of legislation on water resources, public health labour legislation, the judicial system of the union republics and the autonomous republics within the USSR, civil legislation and procedure, criminal legislation and procedure, corrective labour procedure legislation and that relating to marriage and the family and education.

Although in Britain the like relevant law is not set out so succinctly, there is a body of law here to meet the same needs. The qualitative difference is that the Soviet legislation is structured on a classless society geared towards the establishment of communism—plenty and abundance for all without any privileged classes.

The mere fact that Soviet legislation is clearly codified offers no guarantee of its integrity. It is the content and its relative precision that is a safeguard for democracy. We have seen in Britain crimes of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conspiracy to trespass recently created by the judiciary to the consternation of even the least liberal lawyers; and more latterly the right to picket peacefully at non-industrial disputes was removed at the stroke of a judge who created new laws not previously recognised by the most astute jurists.

The contrast between the fundamentals of Soviet legislation and those of Britain needs underlining, and publications like these are of incalculable value in the hands of those who really desire and legislate for objective law and order—as distinct from legislation created by and consequently biased in favour of the *haves* as against the *have-nots*.

BILL STEEL

Brecht As They Knew Him
Edited by Hubert Witt
Lawrence & Wishart, 244 pp, £1

BOURGEOIS SOCIETY uses a variety of ways to neutralise the impact of a revolutionary artist. It pretends he simply doesn't exist. If this fails, it condemns his works on 'aesthetic' grounds. Or justifies his artistic success as arising in spite of his political convictions. Or it makes him 'respectable', ignoring or diluting the revolutionary content of his work. Or it pretends that the artist's political colour is simply a cover-up so that he can continue to create 'freely'.

All these approaches have been tried to limit Brecht's influence in this country, and it says much both for the strength of his work and the developing political awareness of many progressives in Britain that they have not succeeded. Indeed, recent productions of such plays as *The Mother* and the appearance of Walter Benjamin's book *Understanding Brecht* have gone a long way to dispel many misconceptions about this great German socialist's real ideological position.

For despite all attempts by Esslin and other bourgeois apologists to de-politicise him, it is more and more Brecht's bitter hatred of middle class values, his consistent championing of the working class against capitalist exploitation, and the infectious warmth and humanism with which he suggests the socialist alternative that are influencing people here.

This volume of personal impressions by those who worked closest with Brecht over the years is a useful addition to the material on him already available in English. Despite the varied quality of the contributions and the occasional quaintness of the translation, we are provided with a unique opportunity to get close to one of the greatest socialist artists of our age. Possibly the most exciting aspect of this collection is the way in which his life and work are shown developing intrinsically with the great social and political events going on around him—events which shaped him and which he helped to shape.

We learn how the disasters of the first world war, the attempted Soviet revolution in Bavaria and the disillusionment following its suppression produce the first angry, somewhat confused but still hard-hitting reactions in the young Brecht; how he moved to Berlin and began to emerge as the leading young German poet, fiercely attacking the standards and values of middle class existence; how his desire to know the real causes of the economic crisis facing capitalism in the 1920s led him to Marxism; how he was able to concentrate this new-found understanding in such plays as *The Measures Taken* and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Mother, using theatre as an integral part of the intensified class struggle in pre-Nazi Germany; how he was forced into exile and continued his bitter struggle against fascism through his writings abroad; and finally how the consolidation of his life's work came in the establishment of his own socialist theatre in East Berlin, a tribute both to himself and the society he helped create in the German Democratic Republic.

At every stage of his life, one is astonished by the range of his activities and the energy he put into them: as a playwright, poet, director, political writer and teacher. He had a tremendous influence on all he came into contact with, whether they were his fellow artists, politicians, scientists or even the theatre technicians working back-stage on his productions. One of his greatest abilities was to involve everyone in whatever he was engaged in, thus creating the basis for a real collective—one founded on mutual respect and complete commitment to a common goal. This was exemplified above all in the Berliner Ensemble which continued to present exciting productions many years after Brecht himself had died.

We are also given in this collection many personal insights into the way he worked and lived; his production methods, his great respect for his audiences as intelligent, thinking people, his keen sense of humour, his impatience with stupidity, formality and bureaucracy, and—underlying everything—the depth of his commitment to socialism.

This book serves too to whet our appetite for works still little known in Britain: plays such as *Days of the Commune*, the tremendous range and volume of his poems and his thought-provoking political writings, already produced in the GDR in two volumes. English translations of such works would help strengthen even further the conviction that the real source of Brecht's unquenchable creative energy lay in his unshakeable belief in socialism.

ALAN CLARKE

The Party
Trevor Griffiths
Faber, 75pp, 95p

ISSUED AS A BOOK, this play was first performed at the Old Vic by the National Theatre, with Laurence Olivier in the lead part as the Glasgow Trotskyite, John Tagg. Set in 1968 in London at the time of the May events in Paris, it purports to show the different revolutionary answers to the problems of the exploited through a Marcusian London School of Economics lecturer, two dumb (literally) International Socialist girls, a rocker from Agitprop called Grease, an alcoholic writer, a *Guardian* journalist, a liberal television producer and a low-key Labour leader.

It probably provided good entertainment for the sort of people who go to the Old Vic and reinforce their optimistic conviction that 'revolutionaries' in Britain are just good talkers. Certainly it showed the sterility of the different brands of Trotskyism united in their anti-Sovietism and pessimistic view of the revolutionary potential of the working class. Each of the Trotskyite variations are knocked down with the exception of Tagg, the lone Trotskyite soldiering on, adapting reality to his theories.

Laughter dismisses the International Marxist Group after Tagg phones Paris and reports that 'apparently Mandel had his car burned. The story is he stood on a barricade to watch it, shouting "Ah! Comme c'est beau! C'est la revolution!" '

The LSE lecturer succeeds in dis-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

missing himself: 'Of course, what I'm suggesting here is that . . . "revisionism" has a thoroughly . . . revolutionary antecedence; the late Marx revised the early Marx, Engels revised the late Marx, Lenin revised the lot of them. (Pause) Well, a few modest revisions of my own. . . .'

Trevor Griffiths, the playwright (he also wrote the script for the television production of the 1903 Russian Social Democratic Labour Party congress as part of the *Fall of Eagles* series) obviously enjoys language. However, I don't think he intended this intellectual boxing match to appear to be like the kind of thing the ruling class might invent or encourage in order to find the best challenger to the Communist Parties—a kind of 'selection' process devised by the ruling class to develop a more effective strain of counter-revolutionaries.

The play's main weakness, then, is that the champion is missing: quite remarkable an omission considering the fact that there have been fourteen successful socialist revolutions in the last fifty years, led by Leninist parties, compared to the zero score of the Trotskyites.

BRIAN FILLING

The Guinea Pigs

John McGuffin

Penguin, 188 pp, 40p

THE MAIN THESIS of this book is not simply that prisoners in Northern Ireland were tortured by the method known as SD (Sensory Deprivation). It is further argued that this—the first—excursion by the British army into the realms of sophisticated methods of torture was undertaken less in the hope of extracting the sort of information those particular prisoners were likely to be in possession of (such as location of arms caches, names of comrades, plans of terrorist activity) but rather the testing and gaining of experience in the new torture technique. Thus the group of hand-picked young, physically fit Irishmen selected from some hundreds picked up in a swoop on the Catholic republican ghettoes were 'guinea pigs' from whom the British army might learn the effects of the torture, the breakdown point of prisoners, not merely for use at the present moment in Northern Ireland, but wherever, in future military activity, such torture techniques might prove or appear to prove advantageous.

The evidence for the actual tortures inflicted is documented, detailed, corroborative and utterly convincing. Without trying to repeat here the testimonies which are presented in this book and which make it compulsory reading for everyone interested in knowing the truth about the military mind and military methods, it is sufficient to say that here are given a number of first-hand accounts, by men who underwent the tortures, of what happened: that their condition was examined by independent psychiatrists, that their case was taken up by the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science, by the *Sunday Times* Insight team, by Fathers Faul and Murray who approached Cardinal Archbishop Conway who in turn made representations to the Heath cabinet. The Irish government in Dublin actually made noises about taking the matter to the International Court of Human Rights at Strasburg, but this seems (judging by the delays in pressing charges at that court) rather to be used for a shady bargain behind the scenes between the government at Dublin and that at Westminster. Amnesty International managed to interview four of the internees, and concluded

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that their treatment 'clearly amounted to brutality.' Other organisations and individuals, newspapers, as well as the Granada TV programme 'World in Action', have confirmed the general consensus that the torture went on, and went on by the design of the army authorities.

The whitewash job done on the allegations by the committee set up by the government under the chairmanship of Sir Edward Compton and by the committee set up immediately after under Lord Parker (when Compton's report was widely seen as not merely a whitewash job, but one incompetently done) did at the time what it was intended to do. They were handled by the Prime Minister, by Lord Carrington, Reggie Maudling and most of the British press in such a way as to suggest that, since we were dealing with murderers and terrorists, then anything which would help our forces was justified. It was even hoped that publicity given to the summary methods of the army might at the same time frighten off the IRA and its friends.

The author does a service by his examination of the Compton and Parker reports in close detail, and perhaps even more by the detail with which the dissenting minority report of Lord Justice Gardiner is clarified. In passing, it may be said that none of the guinea pigs was found to be a terrorist; many of them were not even in the IRA; and since then two of them, Pat Shivers and Paddy Joe McLean, have each been awarded £14,000 damages, a clear recognition of the criminality of the army authorities.

It will be seen that the book has many valuable and positive features. It is a thousand pities that the writer is so fanatically anti-Soviet and anti-communist, that the examples he adduces of torture before Northern Ireland are taken almost entirely from dubious sources reporting the period of Stalin, that the US emerges almost whiter than white, and that, while there is a blanket statement somewhere that some 69 countries presently are using or experimenting in torture techniques, and this includes the US, the direct references are to anti-Soviet or anti-Chinese sources, with no indication that there is any doubt of their accuracy.

BEN AINLEY

The Intelligent Radical's Guide to Economic Policy

J. E. Meade

Allen & Unwin, 160 pp, £4.25

PROFESSOR MEADE occupies a unique place as the economic theorist who gives inspiration to such writers as Townsend and Titmuss, and groups such as the Child Poverty Action Group. Planning and social control, international trade, the distribution of income and private property: Meade tackles them all in the context of the mixed economy. His solutions are elegant, his logical framework impressive despite its obvious bourgeois inadequacies. Of interest to all who are concerned with ways in which monopoly capitalism will try to solve its crisis.

DAVID GREEN

CORRECTION

The reference on page 186 (*Labour Monthly*, April 1975) to 'Manchester University' should have been to 'Manchester University Press'.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bound Volumes for *LM* Readers

To order your 1974 Bound Volume, just send us £1.90, your 12 loose copies for the year (now that you have finished reading this one), and the name and address to which the volume is to be sent early in the New Year.

Order now from:
UNITY PUBLICATIONS (FINCHLEY) LTD
134 BALLARDS LANE, LONDON N3 2PD

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

British Trade Unionism, Allen Hutt. Lawrence & Wishart, 266 pp, £4.

The Prime Ministers, Vol 2, edited by Herbert van Thal. Allen & Unwin, 420 pp, £7.50.

Retraining and Tradition, Kenneth Hall and Isobel Miller. Allen & Unwin, 176 pp, £5.80.

Italian Fascism, Giampiero Carocci. Penguin, 140 pp, 50p.

The Story of the Civil Service Union, Kathleen L. Edwards. Allen & Unwin, 96 pp, £5.

Shelley's Socialism, Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling. Journeyman, 26 pp, 60p.

Management and Unions, Allan Flanders. Faber, 318 pp, £1.60.

Fireweed No 1. Writers' & Readers' Publishing Co-operative, 62 pp, 60p.

Insecurity in Numbers: the Threat of Nuclear Proliferation, Dan Smith. CND, 36 pp, 20p.

The Rates Explosion: How to Defuse It, Reuben Falber. Communist Party, 16 pp, 15p.

Multi-National Corporations and the Trade Unions, London Co-op Education Department, 12 pp, 15p.

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

No 61 **Second Quarter 1975** **25p**

Marxist-Leninist quarterly journal of the African revolution
published by the South African Communist Party
Contents include:
How I became a Communist, by Angela Davis
When 'Peace' can lead to war in Southern Africa

Annual subscription £1 post free
US: $4 surface, $10 airmail
From your bookseller or Inkululeko Publications
39 Goodge Street, London W1

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON ITS COURSE AS STRONG AS EVER

THE film of *Labour Monthly*, 'Fifty Fighting Years', is a stirring record of the work of the journal and of its co-editors, R. Palme Dutt and R. Page Arnot, in that first half-century of its existence. A number of RPD memorial meetings have taken place this spring—and more are planned—in which a showing of the film has provided audiences with a vivid portrayal of the journal's role in the labour movement. Hammersmith Communist Party, Hackney Young Communist League and East Woolwich Communist Party have all held meetings on this pattern, and a widely advertised showing in Leeds was sponsored by the WEA.

The film has also been shown by organisations searching for good material on labour movement history: the South Herts Constituency Labour Party and the Marx Memorial Library in London are among these. New readers for *LM* are being won at these film shows, and even more by the introduction of the journal to delegates at the 1975 trade union conferences whose acquaintance with it is bringing in new subscriptions, following hard selling by our volunteers at the conferences or the 'softer' displays on conference bookstalls.

Good sales this year were made at the conferences of the National Union of Teachers, the Scottish TUC and the engineers' technical and supervisory section (AUEW-TASS). This sale is the best so far, with 50 copies taken and quickly sold out. Copies have also been on sale at the Wales TUC, the Labour Party's one-day conference on the Common Market, AUEW (Foundry and Engineering sections) and the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs. More large orders of the May issue have been taken for the ATTI (technical teachers) and NUPE (public employees) conferences; and orders for this June issue are coming in as I write.

A useful follow-on by one of our conference sellers has taken the form of a regular order for three sale-or-return copies each month: this is something that any active trade unionist might take up who is regularly in touch with a wide circle in the labour movement where new readers can be introduced to the journal throughout the year, and not only at conference time.

Our April fund total is over our £100 a month target, and reaching towards the £120 to make it 'plus inflation's 20 per cent'. Donations 'In Memory of RPD' came with the following messages: 'I join in wishing to honour the memory of Palme Dutt, for whom I had not

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only great respect and admiration but also real affection: he was such a wonderful person in his relationship with others, including the most humble of us', Ralph Millner, Belfast; 'The balance after payment for my airmail subscription is a small appreciation of the work of that great man, the late R. Palme Dutt', Alfred Watt (Australia); 'I will greatly miss RPD's "Notes of the Month": my husband and I were always admirers of his writings', H.B. (Canada); 'His death was a shock to both my wife and myself, but one cannot expect to hold on to such a shining star forever. I am particularly grateful for the influence exerted on me by RPD for over fifty years. He helped me to grow up in the enormous complexity of events covered by those years. I feel confident that his heritage will enable the magazine to continue on its course of labour unity as strong as ever', H.L.G. (USA).

£117.66

REGULAR DONATIONS came from: 'Oliver Twist' 70p, F Reynolds £10, B D Youatt £3, S Morrissy £1, 'Socialist Sailor' £2, Patrick 50p, M M and J W M (per L H NZ) 25p, Marie Philibert 25p, N J S Hughes £2, Les Bates 25p, H Brindle 25p, Blackburn Branch 15p, Oldham Branch 15p, Ben Ainley £2, Len Potter £1, J Rink 25p, S Reynolds £2, Len and Stella Perkins 50p, A Calder 25p, A Corbett £1, A Wallace £5, 'S Mill' £2, R Paul 50p, G Darby £2, L'Humanité 50p, J W R Clark £4.50, E Dymock 25p, W J Glennie 50p, K and B R (US) £2.68, W H Laithwaite £5, I J Pearce 50p, W J Daniel £1, J Purton 37p.

OTHER DONATIONS came from: J Mandelblatt £2, D R Morrison £1.20, L Gallop 40p, G Evans £1.40, J Fasham £1.40, C Grant £5, H C Johnson 40p, S Butler £5, W S W (Canada) £3.10, B Filling (per A Turner prints) £2.50, D Binnington 50p, O Cahn £10, W N Ramage £2.40, E Wright £2.40, J Boyd 40p, B Strachan £1.20, Anon 40p, C Lewis £2, R Cull 40p, L J Thatcher £1.40, For Clemens and Raji, with comradely love and affection from Angela £5, R S Payne 30p, In honour of Clemens Dutt (Anon) £10, P Baldwin £1, Z Curtis £5, K B (Canada) 96p, M Higginton 40p, R N Miller 20p.

£25.49

DONATIONS IN MEMORY OF RPD came from: P J Wallis £2.30, R Millner £3, A Watt £3.64, West Ham North Branch 50p, H B (Canada) £10.30, H L G (US) £5.75.

Our thanks to you all.

Nicola Seyd

134 Ballards Lane, London, N3 2PD (01-346 5135)

Bankers' orders to: National Westminster Bank Ltd, Finchley Central Branch A/c No 37564838, Code No 60-08-20

MIMETTE FURS LTD

Wide range of furs, coats, stoles and capes

117 High Street, Croydon, Surrey

'Phone 01-688 4328

For all interested in the fight for Peace and Progress in the countryside and the problems of Socialist Agriculture

THE COUNTRY STANDARD

Quarterly 8p

Six issues 70p post free or send 5½p stamp for specimen copy

THE COUNTRY STANDARD
27 Bedford St, Strand, London, WC1E 9EE

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POST FREE SUBSCRIPTION OFFER

for Labour Monthly, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N3 2PD

Home and Overseas (unsealed) 1 year £3.60, 6 months £1.80

USA 1 year $10.00 (sealed $13.00)

Canada 1 year $10.50 (sealed $13.50)

Air Mail rates quoted on application

Please start my subscription from the ..... issue

Name.....

Address.....

.....

Special Student's Concession

1 year £3.30
6 months £1.70

I am a bona fide student at

.....

Please start my subscription from the ..... issue

Name.....

Address.....

.....

.....

Please make cheques, etc. payable to Unity Publications (Finchley) Ltd.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

(25p a line, minimum 90p. Cash with order to: Unity Publications (Finchley) Ltd, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N3 2PD.)

WANTED—secondhand books on Marxism, socialism, labour history, race relations, women's liberation, Collet's London Bookshop, 66 Charing Cross Rd., London W.C.2. Tel: 01-836 6306.

SOCIALIST LIBRARIES & pamphlets bought. 01-876 7254. Hammersmith Books, Liffords Pl., S.W.13.

LABOUR RESEARCH

BRITISH LEYLAND AND THE RYDER REPORT

THE EMPLOYMENT PROTECTION BILL
by O. H. Parsons

NATIONALISATION: THE INTEREST BURDEN

REVIEW OF THE BUDGET

20p, or 25½p by post, monthly
£3.00 per annum.

LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

78 Blackfriars Rd, London, SE1 8HF

Published by Unity Publications (Finchley) Ltd. and printed by London Caledonian Press (T.U.) Ltd., Watford, Herts.—56305

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIFTY
FIGHTING YEARS

the film of *Labour Monthly*

. . . heroes of the labour movement live again—A. J. Cook, Tom Mann, Harry Pollitt, Nehru, Nkrumah, D. N. Pritt, to name but a few. The most remarkable 'clip' is a shot of the first Communist MP, Saklatvala, addressing a giant rally in May 1926 in Hyde Park.

Bernard Shaw, Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Willie Gallacher, all contributors to *LM*, lead skilfully to our present times—to Jimmy Reid, Angela Davis and John Gollan, involved in the struggles of the seventies.

. . . a useful weapon in the working class armoury, with Dutt's call for working class unity as relevant today as it was in 1921.

Morning Star

Available for hiring on 16 or 35mm from

EDUCATIONAL & TELEVISION FILMS LTD

247a Upper Street, London, N1 1QR
Telephone: 01-226 2298

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED